

PRESIDENT MORE AUTOCRATIC THAN ANY SOVEREIGN IN CIVILIZATION

(Continued from page one.)

degenerates. The other is to stop a multitude of interferences, ill-judged although well-meant, with the natural course of business through which alone natural laws can operate to restore normal conditions.

The appeal of President Wilson in October, 1918, for the election of a Democratic Congress, he declared, was "not merely an injustice to the Republican Senators and Representatives who with splendid loyalty had supported every forward step of the administration" but "it was a demand for the continuance of supreme power by the election of a Congress which would submit itself to the orders of an executive acting at once as a party leader in politics, and a dictator in government. It was the instinct of American democracy that repelled the demand. Such long has been the government of Mexico. A government with Louis Napoleon at one end and a plebeian at the other and with naught but subservience between is not a free republic. It is autocracy by consent.

"The President's defiance of the authority of the Senate to advise upon the covenant of the League of Nations and to give or withhold its consent to the ratification of the Treaty containing it," he continued, "was an assertion of right to continue the same autocratic power. It was a challenge to the right of any officer of the United States government to exercise his powers in any way which had not the approval of the chief executive.

"The President had the Constitutional authority and duty to negotiate a treaty. The Senate had the Constitutional authority and duty to advise and to consent or refuse to consent in accordance with their judgment. The right to perform that duty was challenged, by all the tremendous power of a President commanding millions of civil and military subordinates and controlling the expenditures of billions of money. Senators were threatened if they did not submit their judgment to the Presidential will."

The treaty they were called upon to consider, Mr. Root declared, "was fatally defective in several respects, not only from the standpoint of the vital interests of the United States, but considered as an instrument designed to secure the future peace of the world." It was the duty of the Senators, he said, to "test the true meaning of every paragraph, to consider the conditions which the provisions were to meet, to estimate the human forces of self-interest and prejudice and passion under the influence of which the treaty was to be applied, and to form their own judgment upon the results which would be prejudicial for America and for civilization.

"The reservations adopted by the Senate," he insisted, "remedy, so far as the United States is concerned, the chief objections to the treaty. They prevent our entrance into the League of Nations from being an abandonment of the Monroe Doctrine with irreparable injury to the United States and no benefits to the rest of the world."

Especially important, asserted Mr. Root, is that they prevent the "incredible mistake" of Article X. The Agreement in that article "to preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the league," he argued, binds the United States when occasion arises to defend every member of the League by armed force against external aggression "no matter what our people at the time think about the right and wrong of the controversy, or about the wisdom or folly of entering upon it."

"It seems clear to me that in the interests of the world's peace, which all America desires to promote, this treaty ought to be ratified with the reservations of the Senate, and that without those reservations in their fair and honest substance it ought not to be ratified. I hope the treaty will be ratified with the reservations long before the Presidential election. That will be done if the President permits it. If that is not done, then that is what I think the Republican party ought to stand for."

Immediately after the fourth of March, 1921, a Republican President should urge upon the Society of Nations the reform of the League Covenant, so as to make it establish the rule of public right rather than the rule of mere expediency, so as to make the peace of the world rest

away his right to strike," he asserted, "but we should by law limit that right to strike at a point where it comes in conflict with the community's high right of self-preservation. No man or set of men can justly claim the right to undertake the performance of a service upon which the health and life of others depend and then to abandon the service at will. The line between such a performance and an ordinary strike should be drawn by law.

"Inseparably connected with the right to control by the governing people is the duty of justice resting upon them. If the people by law prohibit organized labor from holding them up to enforce its demands, the people are bound to provide means to ascertain whether the demands are just, and for enforcing them if found just. That duty calls for the establishment of a competent and impartial tribunal, and for the enforcement of its decisions."

Referring to the question of economy, Mr. Root declared "it is true that a political party cannot make individuals thrifty, but a political party can produce the shining and potent example of thrifty and economical government." There had been a profligate expenditure during the war which to some extent was inevitable, he said, but there would have been less if capable business men had been called to Washington "instead of leaving authority in the hands of a group of men quite untrained in business affairs and distrustful of all who had achieved business success."

Officials and agents of the present administration, he asserted, have acquired the habit of spending public money and don't know when to stop. Three things can be done, he explained, to bring about a reform. "First, establishment of an effective budget system, under which the government will be obliged to start with its resources in order to determine its expenditures."

"Second, to secure an executive department which will stop urging and a Congress that will stop appropriating money for things which need not to be done now so expensively, or need not be done at all."

"Third, to revise the system of taxation, and to make some serious changes in it indicated by experiences of its effects. The review of taxation will involve the tariff. . . . Our new tariff law must be framed so that American industry will not be ruined, especially so that the manufacture of things which the war has shown to be necessary for the independence of the country shall not be stopped; and it must be framed so as not to destroy the export trade of Europe, which directly or indirectly will enable Europe to pay her debts and remain solvent."

Russian Bolshevism, Mr. Root declared, has set upon a definite undertaking to destroy all existing democratic governments and its missionaries have made some headway in the United States. When we find Bolshevism missionaries inciting criminal overthrow of the government, it is lawful and sensible, he argued, to punish and deport them.

"The right of free speech does not include the right to incite crime," he explained. "Yet we must be careful not to overlook the distinction. Let there be a fair hearing, and let no expression of mere differing opinion—however radical or distasteful—be punished."

The chief means of meeting the Bolshevik assault, he asserted, was "Americanization." We must confine it to the foreign born, he stated. It must extend to all children in the schools, and to that end to teachers in the schools, not by any means excluding the professors in our colleges.

Assistant Secretary of Navy Roosevelt says the United States must have navy equal to that of any other power and that would cost \$1,000,000 a year to maintain it.

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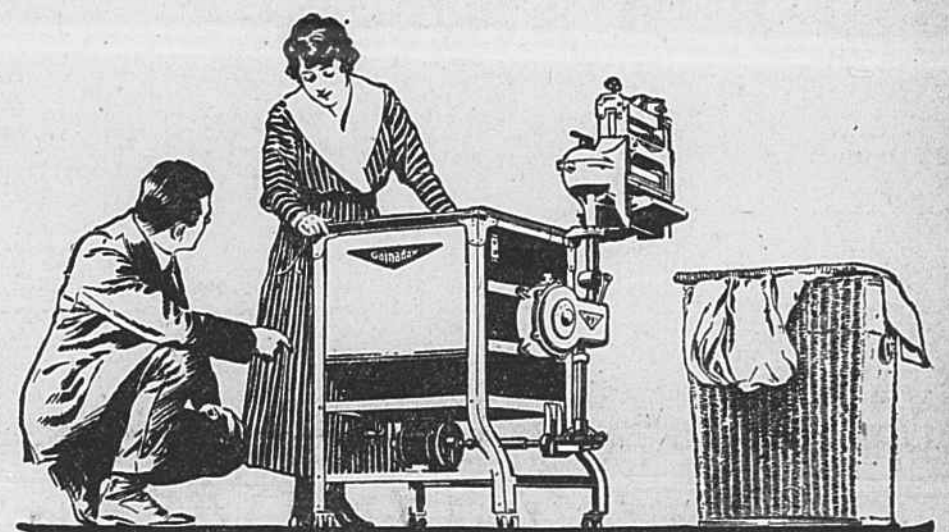
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